heads, and *clairin* poured over these, but on this occasion the rite was postponed, for the eggs would have dampened the drumheads so they could not have been played for the evening's dance. Yet this deviation from the strict ritual did not permit any laxity in meeting the obligation when promised—that is, the day following the dance.

The *houngan* took charge as soon as the prayers were finished. Placing the drums to form a triangle on the ground, with the iron, rattles, and sticks near by, he put the offerings inside the space enclosed by the bodies, and with white cornmeal made *veves* about them, while at the foot of each drum he placed an egg; then, covering the drums with a clean cloth, he threw parched corn on it. From time to time he interrupted his silent invocations by ringing a bell held in one hand, until the arrival of the time for the vehement haggling over the price of his services, which interrupted the ritual. This matter settled, he asked for the names to be given the drums, and proceeded to "christen" the small one Gran' Siligbo, the middle-sized Dumballa, and the great drum Ogun Shange. At this point, were the owner desirous of having special powers given his drums, as is frequently the case, the *houngan* would endow them with a *n'dene*, or soul, at the same time instructing the spirit of the drums, called *kwaide*, in what was desired of it, and prescribing what must be given the drums by their owner to make their powers effective. But in this case no such *n'dene* was asked, and the ceremony continued.

Summoning the gods, he lifted the cloth over the drums and instructed the "father" to pour water in three places between them, to set the drums on end, and to beat one of them. This was the *seconde*, called Dumballa, and its having been initially struck indicated that the god after whom it was named was most important for this set. This ended the ceremony of baptism, and the drummers took charge so that the evening's dance might begin, for now the drums were ready

one with the Holy Virgin. St. Jacques has become one with Ogoun, St. George with Linglesaw, St. Anthony and St. Christopher with Legba, guardian of the highway, and St. Nicholas with Maroun Trois. In northern Haiti the word *zange* (from the French, *les anges*—the angels) sometimes is used synonymously with lwa or mystère. As for the saints, they are sometimes identified with one lwa, sometimes with another.

No one in Haiti knows all the lwa. Some of them are so ancient as to be nearly forgotten. Others are spontaneous creations or revelations on the part of a possessed person. Some lwa names may be the result of a dreamer's arising upon a word or phrase in a religious song and imparting to it the concept of a lwa. Sometimes a word in a phrase of *language* is taken to be a lwa's name, and sometimes agglutinated Creole words become the name of a lwa.

The possibility of frequent additions to the list of lwa is heightened still further by the general illiteracy of the Haitian people and the lack of a stabilizing influence in the written word. The Creole language has marked regional differences. Furthermore, change of consonants or vowels in a commonplace occurrence, so that a single lwa's name may have several forms. One may well wonder whether Azaa, Adja, and Akadja were not originally a single individual. Nevertheless, in the Haitian scheme they are now different personalities.

There is one more complicating factor in identifying lwa or compiling a comprehensive roster—the use of multiple names. In addition to the names by which they are generally known, many of the deities have a variety of nicknames. Some of these nicknames are in Creole, some appear to be of West African provenience. The deity Agwé, for example, is frequently called Coquí-nan-Mer—Coquí-in-the-Sea. A lwa may have four, five, or even more such nicknames. Sometimes short forms are used. Damballa may be called Da, Sobo may be called So, Azaka may be called Za. In addition, some deities have "secret" names, which theoretically are known only to the priesthood and the inner circle of servitors. Multiple naming and the reservation of certain names for special occasions appear to have West African precedents.

In the naming of the lwa no neat and methodical system is apparent at any point. The "surname," or what may be in some cases a generic designation, may appear first or last. One may hear Ogoun Chango or Chango Ogoun, Général Brisé or Brisé Général, Congo Savane or Savane Congo. (This is characteristic of everyday speech. A former president of Haiti, Nord Alexis, is often called Alexis Nord.) The "surname" can be a description of "tribal" or "national" affiliation, regional provenience, character and temperament, or an indication of function. Thus we find

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Boulicha Nago, or Boulicha of the Nagos; Erzilie Wédo and Erzilie Dahomey, possibly from Wédo and Dahomey in Dahomey; Tijean Pied Chèche (Tijean Dry Feet), a loa of frail character, "dry feet" signifying malevolence; and Legba Grand Chimin, or Legba of the Highway.

Identification of loa is often made difficult by the use of the generic or family title only. The term Nago covers all the loa associated with this "nation" (Nago Pinaret, Aminse Nago, Boulicha Nago, etc.), but in a song or service any one of them is as likely as not to be referred to simply as Nago, with no clue to his exact identity. Each listener takes the name to designate the Nago loa with whom he is most familiar, unless possession occurs and the loa is otherwise identified by the behavior of his "horse."

On the whole, it appears that there was in the beginning a strong awareness of regional origins. There are names among the cult pantheons which indicate Senegal, Dahomey, Nigeria, Congo, and Angola origins. Many loa bear the names of African towns. Among the Ogoun family of loa, for example, are such regional designations as Badagry and Jakkè, the first being a town in Nigeria and the second in Dahomey. It is clear that a detailed geographical knowledge of certain West African regions would considerably illuminate a study of Haitian loa.

Local shrines, too, doubtless enter into the naming system. Badagry is the name of a town in Nigeria, and it is also a Dahomean word designating the structure in which young men used to be circumcised and initiated into the secrets of warriors. In this particular light, the loa Ogoun Badagry might be regarded as the deity of that particular ritual center.

In discussing the complicated relationship of their loa, Haitians sometimes say: "There are seven of everything. There are seven Marassas, seven Ogouns, seven Erzilies. There are seven brothers and sisters in every family of loa." Or they say something such as: "There is only one Legba, but there are seven. There is only one Ogoun, but he has many moods and names. There is only one Erzilie, but she has seven faces." This concept is also held by the Arara (Arada) cult of Cuba. It is interesting to note the extent to which duplications and new generations of loa have been set up into family households in the most literal sense. These families are still growing. In the Gédé family I have counted more than thirty seemingly distinct individuals (see Appendix I).[1] Herskovits mentions a number of others, and still more have been cited by other writers on the subject. When I pointed out to some Haitians that the Gédé family numbered far more than seven individuals, they were unable to account for the situation. Other Haitians took the vast army of Gédés as a matter of course. The Ogoun family, too, is large and growing. Twenty-seven Ogouns are listed in the compilation in Appendix I. Still more have been recorded elsewhere.

[1] [See p. 317ff., Category 116.-- Analyst]